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A
BRIEF NOTICE
OF
AMERICAN SLAVERY,
AND THE
ABOLITION MOVEMENT.

BRISTOL:
H. C. EVANS, 29, CLARE-STREET.
LONDON: CHAPMAN, BROTHERS, NEWGATE-STREET.
DUBLIN: WEBB AND CHAPMAN.
GLASGOW: GALLIE.

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• 1886



A LARGE collection of articles having been sent in 1844 and 1845, from Bristol to Boston in the United States, for a Bazaar which is annually held in that city, to increase the funds of the "Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society," it seemed probable that future contributions might be promoted by the circulation of a short account of Slavery in America, and of the labours of the Abolitionists.

The desirableness of such a statement was suggested by the numerous enquiries made, both by friends who contributed to the bazaar, and by visitors who inspected their labours, concerning the Slaves in North America, and the nature of the efforts employed for their emancipation.

It soon, however, became manifest that the subject was too extensive and too important to be dismissed in five or six pages as was originally contemplated, or to be confined within a narrower compass than the following tract.

The writer is fully aware of the very imperfect nature of the slight sketch he has attempted to give; but he hopes he has sufficiently brought into view the leading features of American Slavery and the Abolition Movement, to afford *some* information to those who have not previously paid attention to the subject. He will derive an ample return for any trouble the preparation of this "Brief Notice" may have occasioned, should he be instrumental in extending a knowledge of the horrors of Slavery in the United States, and in engaging the sympathy of any around him in that holy cause in which the American Abolitionists are labouring with self-sacrificing zeal and untiring devotedness.

Bristol, June, 1846.



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A BRIEF NOTICE OF AMERICAN SLAVERY,
AND THE
ABOLITION MOVEMENT.

SLAVERY in America is awakening so much interest in this country, and the time appears so rapidly approaching when the attention of the civilized world will be riveted to events connected with this institution, that a few remarks upon it, and some notice of the Abolitionists in the United States who are labouring for its overthrow, may not be unacceptable to many who have but limited access to American publications.

FREE AND SLAVE-HOLDING STATES.

It may be well to remind the reader, that in fourteen of the twenty-eight United States of America, Slavery is prohibited by law. In the remaining fourteen States it exists in all its horrors and rigour. The Northern, or Free States, are,—Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, *Vermont*, Connecticut, Rhode Island (called collectively the New England States), New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, *Ohio*, *Indiana*, *Illinois*, *Michigan*, and *Iowa*. The Southern, or Slave States are,—Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, *Missouri*, *Kentucky*, *Tennessee*, *Georgia*, *Alabama*, *Louisiana*, *Arkansas*,

Mississippi, and *Texas*. Those printed in italics are new States which have been formed, or annexed, since the separation of the original thirteen colonies from Great Britain in 1776.

In American publications on the subject of Slavery, the *North* is synonymous with the Free States, and free institutions; the *South* with Slavery, and Southern, or pro-slavery interests. The boundary line between the Northern and Southern States is frequently referred to by the term of "Mason and Dixon's line," from the name of the commissioners who surveyed it.

Slavery existed to a small extent in each of the original Northern States previously to the Revolution; but it has, since that event, been gradually abolished in all. It was finally terminated in New York in 1828.

The number of Slaves is now estimated at about **THREE MILLIONS**, forming nearly one sixth of the population of the United States.

Though a foreign Slave-trade is prohibited by the laws of the American Union, it is believed that from 10,000 to 16,000 negroes are annually smuggled into the States from Cuba and other quarters, to assist in supplying the deficiency from the destruction of life in the rice and cotton plantations. A considerable remaining deficiency is made up by an internal Slave-trade, one of the most criminal and revolting departments of this nefarious institution. Many planters in those Slave States which lie farthest north, whose land has been used up by the wastefulness inseparable from Slave labour, and who have not sufficient employment for the whole of their Slave population, breed them for the market,—selling them, and driving them to their place of destination, much in the way that English farmers breed, sell, and transport cattle to various localities. The immorality necessarily attendant upon this system, the cruelty of separating husband and wife, parent and child, brothers and sisters, friends and acquaintance, to say nothing of the degradation of the auction mart, or the hardships incident to the transportation to distant places, need not be insisted on.

Altogether it is calculated that the annual addition to the Slave population amounts to 150,000.

TREATMENT OF SLAVES, AND LAWS OF THE SLAVE STATES.

In this brief outline we can only glance at the injury and injustice inflicted on the Slave in the Southern States of Christian and Protestant America. It would be unreasonable and uncharitable, to suppose that the Slaves are invariably treated with harshness and cruelty on every plantation. It cannot be doubted that there are some proprietors who, believing there is nothing sinful in holding Slave property, are anxious to promote the happiness of their negroes (as far as *this* can be effected consistently with the injustice inseparable from the maintenance of Slavery,

and with the state of public opinion by which it is upheld), and who sincerely imagine that emancipation would be an evil to the Slave instead of a boon. And it is probable that in some instances this unfortunate race have more physical enjoyment than the poorer free people in America or in other civilized countries. But this can hardly be allowed to have any weight against the evils liable to arise from the irresponsible power which the master holds over his human property; and an immense mass of incontestable evidence proves that this power is abused to an extent sufficient to render its existence quite unwarrantable, and to demand the relinquishment of a system productive of an incalculable extent of sin and misery. The celebrated Cassius M. Clay, of Kentucky, who liberated his own Slaves, says of American Slavery: "Its system, its laws, and its possible abuses, make it the lowest, the basest, and most unmitigated the world has seen."

The "American Anti-Slavery Society" has been at much pains to obtain full and unquestionable evidence of the treatment of Slaves in the Southern States; and their Reports extend over a long period of time, and comprehend nearly all the Slave districts. These documents place beyond dispute the daily and hourly intense suffering of thousands of Slaves. Many witnesses state, in respect to their treatment, that "cruelty is the rule, kindness the exception." A more appalling record of human misery and wickedness does not exist than the collection of evidence entitled "*American Slavery as it is;—Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses,*" compiled by Mr. Theodore D. Weld, a refutation of which has never been attempted.

The sufferings of the Negroes arise from hard and long-continued labour; inadequate repose; scanty food (a quart of Indian corn a-day, and no other kind of food, being a common allowance on many plantations); insufficient clothing; frequent and cruel floggings; other personal violence of the most brutal kind, often producing maiming for life; a total disregard of their feelings and affections, and of those ties which bind man to man; a systematic effort to keep them in a state of complete moral degradation; the withholding from them the means of mental culture and religious knowledge (teaching them to read being forbidden); in a word, treating them altogether as brute animals, in order to preserve that mastery over them, and to exact those services from them, which ought only to exist in the case of brute animals.

The laws of the Slave States afford incontestable evidence of the barbarities to which the Negroes are exposed. A law was enacted in Louisiana defining such atrocities as the following: "For wilfully cutting out the tongue, putting out the eye, cruelly burning, or depriving any Slave of any limb," a penalty of 500 dollars is threatened. The little consideration, however, which

is shewn for the Slave's suffering is exhibited in a strong light when this law is contrasted with one which concerns the *master's* interests. This other law imposes a fine of 1,000 dollars, and imprisonment for two years, for "cutting or breaking any iron chain or collar" which any master has used for preventing a Slave's running away. A person, therefore, freeing a Slave from an iron collar which galls his neck and inflicts acute suffering, is liable to a vastly more severe sentence than one who wilfully cuts out his tongue!

One more instance may be adduced to show this want of consideration for the Slave. If any person renders the Slave of another useless by destroying his sight, or maiming him for life, the law imposes as a penalty the value of the Slave before he was injured. The Slave, however, is not to remain with his original master, who might be expected to be kind to him, but is transferred to the person who injured him, and who has to support him during the rest of his life. Can common humanity be expected from such a person under such circumstances?

The following advertisement, from the "*Charleston Courier*," will furnish a specimen, not only of the cruelties actually committed, but of the indifference with which they must be regarded by the inhabitants of the Southern States:—

"TWENTY DOLLARS REWARD.—Ran away from the Subscriber, a negro girl named Molly. She is sixteen or seventeen years of age, slim made, lately branded on the left cheek thus R, and a piece taken off her ear on the same side; the same letter on the inside of both her legs.—ABNER ROSS, Fairfield District."

As evidence of the cruelty inflicted on Slaves by an utter disregard to their social affections and family ties, the following advertisements are selected:—

From the "Savannah Georgian."

"One Hundred Dollars will be given for my two fellows, Abram and Frank. Abram has a *wife* at Col. Stewart's, in Liberty County, and a *sister* in Savannah, at Capt. Grovensting's. Frank has a *wife* at Mr. Le Cont's, in Liberty County, a *mother* at Thunder-bolt, and a *sister* in Savannah.—WM. ROBERTS."

"Fifty Dollars Reward.—Ran away, Paulidore, commonly called Paul. I understand Gen. R. Y. Hayne has purchased his *wife* and *children*, and has them now on his plantation at Goosecreek, where no doubt the fellow is frequently *lurking*.—T. DAVIS."

The succeeding extract has been a standing advertisement in the Charleston papers:—

"One Hundred and Twenty Negroes for Sale.—The subscriber has just arrived from Petersburg, Virginia, with one hundred and twenty *likely young Negroes*, of both sexes, and of every description, which he offers for sale on most reasonable terms." In the lot are described "several women with children, small girls suitable for nurses, and several *small boys without their mothers*."—BENJ. DAVIS."

The hopeless condition of the Slave, both as regards his mental improvement, and his eventual restoration to his rights as a man, may be judged of by a bare mention of a few of the laws of the Southern States. These laws somewhat vary in the different States; but the following will be found in some or other of them. Teaching Slaves to read is prohibited under severe penalties, fines and imprisonment, and especially if the free coloured people presume to teach: in Louisiana, death is the legal penalty for the second offence. A father may be flogged for teaching his own child to read the Bible.* Religious assemblies of Slaves are illegal; they may be broken up, and the negroes flogged without trial for being present. The law affords no protection to the marriage of Slaves; masters may at any time enforce a separation between husband and wife. If a free coloured man enter a Southern port on ship board, he is liable to be taken to prison and kept there until the ship sails away; and if the captain should fail to pay the expences incurred by his detention, the coloured man is liable to be sold to perpetual Slavery. Assisting Slaves to escape is an offence visited with severe penalties, such as long imprisonment, heavy fines, branding with a hot iron, the pillory, and even death. In Mississippi Slaves are punished capitally for thirty different crimes, all of which in the case of whites are visited only with fine and imprisonment; eight of them, if committed by whites, are not punishable at all.

All the Slave States allow the life of a fugitive Slave to be taken, if his escape cannot otherwise be prevented. A Slave, refusing to submit to the lash, may be legally shot.

If a Slave be killed by cruel whipping, the master is liable to a fine, or to imprisonment for six months; but as Slave testimony is not received in evidence, the commission of the offence cannot be proved against masters, if none but negroes were present at the time. However injured a Slave may be by personal violence, he cannot prosecute his master, or any one else, for damages.

It is indeed maintained, that the laws, made professedly for the protection of the Slave, were merely a *pretence* of consulting his advantage; for their efficacy is completely nullified by his inability to prove the injuries inflicted on him, white witnesses being rarely present when cruelties are committed by a master or overseer. The laws thus professing to grant protection, strip the negroes of the only means by which they could make that protection available.

* The agent of a Bible Society was arrested in New Orleans for offering a Slave a Bible. The agent declared he did not know the man was a Slave; but he was convicted before the City Court, and would have been severely punished, but for an engagement on the part of the officers of the Bible Society, that strict orders should be given to their agents never to be guilty of a *similar offence!*

On two points the Abolitionists consider it very important to caution the public against forming an opinion from the reports of English or American travellers, or of those interested in the maintenance of Slavery. These are, the general treatment of the negroes, and their being *contented* with their condition as Slaves.

Casual visitors to the Southern States, or those who have resided only in *large* towns, are not competent to form a judgment on the first of these topics; for it is not in cities, nor even in the houses of planters, but in the plantations remote from general observation, that the hardships of the Slave reach their climax. The planters are proverbially hospitable; their guests are disposed to think favourably of their entertainers: it is not to be expected that the owners of Slaves would intrude upon the notice of visitors, or even allow them to witness, what would leave an unpleasant impression on their minds.

Of those who temporarily reside in the Slave States, the mechanics employed on the plantations are the best able to furnish a correct statement of the treatment of the negroes. Most satisfactory testimony has been obtained (that of Slaves who have escaped out of reach of being called to account for their confessions) of the little reliance to be placed upon the negroes themselves, when interrogated by visitors as to their treatment. Any complaint on their part, it is asserted, is sure to be followed by some punishment, and their great object is to say what will be acceptable to those who have the power of severely visiting upon them whatever occasions displeasure to their masters or overseers.

Chief Justice Henderson, of North Carolina, a Slave-holder, in a State trial where he refused to permit a master to give in evidence a declaration made by a Slave, said: "The master has an almost absolute control over the body and *mind* of his Slave. The master's *will* is the Slave's *will*. All his acts, *all his sayings* are made with a view to propitiate his master. His confessions are made, not from a love of truth, not from a sense of duty, not to speak a falsehood, but to *please his master*."

To enable us to form a decision on this important point we are referred to the Slave laws of the different States; to the statements of persons who have long resided among the plantation Slaves, and whose evidence cannot be suspected of any undue bias; and especially are we referred to the admissions of the Slave-holders themselves, in their advertisements and other public documents. "American Slavery as it is" contains numerous declarations of Slave-holders that the Slaves are most cruelly treated. This affecting record of human suffering and revolting barbarity extracts from southern newspapers one hundred and twenty advertisements of runaway Slaves, every one of whom is designated by some personal mutilation, amongst

which are wounds of every description, many from shots and stabs, scars from the whip, cropped ears, letters branded with hot iron, marks from iron collars, loss of teeth, &c., &c., &c. Allowing that a few of these maimings may have arisen from natural or accidental causes, the greater number are clearly the result of personal violence; and if so many cases of injury are incidentally published to the world, as existing in only runaway negroes, how numerous must be the instances of such mutilations which are not heard of among the great mass of plantation Slaves! The "*Raleigh Standard*," of North Carolina, had the following advertisement:-

"Ran away, a negro woman and two children. A few days before she went off, I burned her with a hot iron on the left side of her face. I tried to make the letter M.—MICAJAH RICKS."

It is also well known that Slaves are sometimes under overseers whose wages are proportioned to the crops they raise. Other overseers whose salaries are fixed, are found to obtain lucrative situations according to their skill in drawing the largest income from a plantation with a given number of Slaves. Who can doubt that a virtual premium is thus offered to the over-working of the negroes? Many planters consider it more profitable to wear out their Slaves by eight or ten years of hard work and then purchase new ones, than to retain the same set by moderate labour for the natural term of their lives. The Slave States in general prescribe no limit to the hours during which Slaves may be worked. But South Carolina has passed a law in favour of the Slave, forbidding his being worked more than fifteen hours in summer and fourteen in winter, during the twenty-four hours. The law of Louisiana has provided that the Slave shall have two hours and an half out of the twenty-four, for rest! Ordinarily, it is considered that the field Slaves have no more than four hours of rest during the day and night.

With regard to the negroes being contented with their condition, it would be strange indeed if among the immense number of Slaves that are in the Southern States, many, particularly those employed as domestic servants, were not so attached to the masters and mistresses who treated them kindly, as to be unwilling to leave them; but the dissatisfaction of the majority with Slavery, is proved by the multitudes who, at the risk of their lives, annually attempt their escape. It is, certainly, difficult to obtain an accurate account of the number who succeed in escaping to Canada and the Northern States. It is, however, calculated, that of the present generation of Slaves, about one in thirty have actually escaped, or have attempted to run away: this will make 90,000 on the whole Slave population.

POLITICAL POWER OF SLAVE-HOLDERS.

The "Slave-holding interest" commands a majority of votes in the American Congress; for every white inhabitant of the Southern States, possessed of negroes, has a greater amount of political power than the inhabitant of a Free State, in consequence of the qualification for voting which this description of property affords. The Slaves themselves have no votes; but in estimating the population five negroes are reckoned equivalent to three free persons; thus a man in Virginia owning five Slaves has four votes, one for himself and three for his Slaves, while a free man in Massachusetts, however great the extent of his wealth, has only one vote; thus, too, a man owning 1000 Slaves in the South, is equal in political influence to 601 of the wealthiest and most intelligent free men in the North. By the constitution of the United States, 30,000 votes are required to send one member into the House of Representatives. In the South 500 whites, if they possess 50,000 Slaves, can send one representative to Congress; whilst in the North, 30,500 whites return but one. One Slave-holder in Georgia is thus frequently clothed by the constitution with the same amount of political power and influence in Congress as sixty Massachusetts men.

It may be said, that this law of representation occasions the political annihilation of 1,800,000 inhabitants of the Free States, since the Slave-holders send to Congress sixty representatives more than those elected by an equal number of white people in the Free States.

The annual increase of 150,000 Slaves, which has been before noticed, constitutes also a perpetual augmentation to the Slaveholding power.

The result of the political preponderance of the Slaveholding interest is shown in the fact that a large majority of the American Presidents have been Slave-holders; that the other great officers of state in that country,—her Secretaries of State, her Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, her Generals, her Admirals, her Ministers to foreign courts,—are chiefly Slave-holders, and that the whole policy of the general government is shaped so as to confirm, as far as possible, the stability of the "peculiar institution" of Slavery. The inhabitants of the Northern States have the shipping interest, the manufacturing interest, the agricultural interest, to divide the attention of their politicians; but the whole South move with the unanimity of one man for the establishment and preservation of Slavery. For instance, the Florida war, which lasted seven years and cost the Union five millions sterling, was originally undertaken at the instigation of the Slave-holders, for the recovery of about 300 Slaves, who had taken refuge among the Seminole Indians in the wilds and everglades of Florida.

FREE COLOURED POPULATION.

In the Northern, or Free States there is a considerable number of coloured people,—the descendants, principally, of the Slaves who were originally liberated in those States. They greatly vary in complexion, many being very fair; but all are, to some extent, coloured. In the census of 1840 their number was about 160,000; while the number of these free coloured people resident in the Slave States amounted to 200,000.

Much notice is taken in the United States of the number and inequalities of the classes of society in England; but there exists between our various classes no feeling analogous to that which is entertained by the mass of the white inhabitants of America towards their coloured population. With us the rich and the poor, the ignorant and the educated, form themselves almost spontaneously into an endless variety of circles; but there is no "impassable barrier" from one of these divisions to another. The poor man, by becoming rich, will unite with those from whom he was previously separated. If one from the illiterate class become educated, he will not be kept at a distance from those among whom he is now privileged to enter. No external circumstances but his own misconduct, will deprive any man of that respect to which, as a man, he is entitled. It is difficult for us to conceive that a person well educated, well conducted, well off in worldly circumstances, should be looked down upon by those in none of these respects superior to himself. But in America the treatment of the free coloured people, not only in the Slave States (where no great consideration for them could be expected), but in the free cities of the North, is truly disgraceful to the inhabitants as men and as Christians.

In public conveyances and hotels it is usual for them to be kept separate from the white people, though paying the same fares and other charges. In churches, negro pews, or separate seats, are frequently allotted for them. Their young men are denied education in the ordinary schools and universities, and every possible indignity is heaped upon them. In no place is this prejudice said to be more prevalent than in Philadelphia,—the City of Brotherly Love!

The following examples may serve as illustrations of the treatment referred to. A coloured gentleman, the Rev. Mr. Livingston, an episcopally ordained clergyman, was travelling by the *De Witt Clinton* steamboat from New York to Albany. Though the weather was extremely cold, and he had paid the same fare as the rest of the passengers, the captain refused him any accommodation below, and he had to pass the whole night on deck, with nothing to lie on but the bare boards. To use his own expression, "A dog would have had more care taken of him."

A coloured gentleman, formerly a major in the Brazilian army,

took a place for himself and his wife, a mulatto, in the steam-boat from New Bedford to Nantucket. Heavy rain coming on, his wife, with an infant at the breast, descended to the cabin. She was refused admittance there, as she was a "*negro*." No remonstrance on the part of her husband availed, and she was forced by the captain, though in delicate health, to return to the deck, exposed to the inclemency of the weather.

In 1833, at Canterbury, in the *Free State* of Connecticut, a lady of irreproachable character, Miss Crandall, who kept a boarding school for young ladies, having lost some of her pupils in consequence of taking one with a slightly coloured skin, advertised her intention of changing her plan, and of receiving coloured girls. As she could not be dissuaded from her purpose by the gentry of the village, they obtained an act from their State Legislature, prohibiting the admission of coloured people into the place if contrary to the wishes of the majority. Doubting the legality of this legislation, Miss Crandall persevered with her school, was arrested, thrown into prison, bailed, tried, escaped conviction, and was indicted a second time. But her persecutors also exercised some of their own law: Miss C. was derided and insulted when she walked out; the tradesmen of the place refused to deal with her, the well on her premises was filled up, and the inmates of her house kept in alarm at night by the windows being broken and stones thrown into the rooms. Finally, the personal safety of herself and her helpless pupils compelled her to yield to the unmanly persecution with which she was assailed. Andrew J. Judson, Esq., a lawyer at Canterbury, is described as having been the prominent leader of Miss Crandall's opponents.

It is lamentable to see this unchristian feeling fostered by those who have the power, and ought to have the inclination, to teach a better spirit. The Rev. Dr. Dewey, a distinguished clergyman of New York, of highly cultivated mind, favourably known in this country and in America by the publication of many eloquent sermons, and by a work entitled "The Old and the New World," in an Essay on "American Morals and Manners," speaking of the coloured race generally, says,—"They must ever be with us a despised minority;"—"separated from us by impassable physical, if not mental barriers, how are they ever to rise? How are they to enjoy any fair chance as men?" This statement of the existence of a physical barrier to the amalgamation of the classes, is made with a full knowledge of an almost white race of descendants from negroes in the South (if, at least, the description of the *fairness* of negroes, as given by the planters themselves in their advertisements of Slaves for sale, and of runaway negroes, is to be believed); and the necessity that the coloured people should continue in a degraded state is spoken of by Dr. Dewey without any reference to the conduct of those who keep them in this condition, by refusing to treat them

as rational beings and as fellow-men! We must make some allowance for the strong language the Abolitionists use, when they perceive that the only amalgamation of the classes denounced as impracticable, is that hallowed by the matrimonial tie, and when they see their benevolent purposes thwarted by those to whose good reputation and extensive influence they might reasonably look for encouragement and support. Dr. Dewey suggests, as the only imaginable remedy for the evil he deplores, *the removal of the coloured people to distant territories*,—their expatriation from the soil of their birth, on which they have as inalienable a right to reside as those who recommend their banishment from it! There appears to be no doubt that the light in which the free coloured people are viewed by the inhabitants of the Northern States, and the conduct generally pursued towards them, has greatly tended to keep up that indifference to the existence of Slavery in the South which is so general in the free portions of the Union. The behaviour of individuals towards this class is considered by the Abolitionists as a criterion of their views and wishes with regard to abolition. No sincere advocate of emancipation ever treats the coloured people otherwise than as "men and brothers." It is, however, gratifying to observe that with the spread of Anti-Slavery doctrines, the conduct of the Americans towards their free coloured citizens improves; and a most marked instance of denunciation of the "aristocracy of the skin," has recently occurred at New Bedford. The managers of the Lyceum of that town having passed a regulation to exclude coloured people from membership (but insulting them by the permission to attend gratuitously in a gallery appropriated for them), Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Charles Sumner, Esqs.,—gentlemen distinguished for their writings and talents, who had engaged to give some lectures at the Lyceum,—have publicly withdrawn from the undertaking on the ground of the unjust and illiberal spirit evinced by the conductors of the institution.

MORAL CONSEQUENCES OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

It is not necessary to appeal to those who have openly embraced the Anti-Slavery cause, for an opinion as to the demoralizing influence of Slavery upon the American nation. This evil is admitted and deplored by thousands, who, for various reasons, do nothing for its removal.

Debasing, indeed, must be the effect on the intelligent minds of the Northern inhabitants of always contemplating, not only with apathy, but with attempts to palliate and excuse, an institution termed by John Wesley—"The sum of all villanies." Lamentable in its influence upon the character of professed Christians, must be the daily habit of treating as unworthy of the rights and charities of men, those whom it has pleased God to

bring into existence with skins differently coloured from their own, instead of doing all in their power to raise in the social scale this oppressed and cruelly neglected class of their fellow-citizens.

In the Southern portion of the United States what an insurmountable obstacle to moral progress must exist, where ministers of the gospel (many of them Slave-holders themselves) are not only prohibited from denouncing Slavery as a sin, but who even defend it on the authority of Scripture! The direct consequences upon the characters of the wealthier portion of the inhabitants of the Southern States, which the possession of irresponsible power over their helpless Slave population produces, are not disputed. The children of the Slave-owners, being accustomed from their cradles to the unrestrained command, and often to the violent treatment, of their domestic Slaves, naturally grow up with undisciplined passions and tyrannical dispositions. The number of atrocities perpetrated at the South among that class of society which in this country are called gentlemen (a record of which is found in "*American Slavery as it is*"), would surpass all belief were they not extracted from the journals of the Slave States. Arms are usually carried, and the most revolting murders are matters of no uncommon occurrence. The Southern newspapers are continually detailing the most deadly affrays with bowie knives, dirks, pistols, rifles, and other weapons, besides formal duels and lawless lynchings. The Halls of legislation are not exempted from the exhibition of the most ungovernable rage. The *Arkansas Gazette* for July, 1838, contains the report of an affray in the House of Representatives of that State, in which the Speaker, Colonel John Wilson, while presiding over the deliberations of the House, took umbrage at words spoken in debate by Major Anthony, one of the members; he came down from the Speaker's chair, drew a large bowie knife from his bosom, and attacked Major A., who defended himself for some time, and was at last stabbed through the heart and fell dead on the floor. Col. Wilson deliberately wiped the blood from his knife, and returned to his seat. To shew the manner in which the community of a Slaveholding State sanctioned so dreadful a crime, it is farther stated that the authorities took no notice of the offence until the friends of the murdered man demanded a warrant for Col. Wilson's apprehension; he was then held to bail, went to his trial in a coach and four, was acquitted by a unanimous verdict of the jury, and was escorted from the court in triumph by his friends.

The more striking characteristics of the Southern people, fostered and rendered incurable by Slavery, are said to be, ferocity, improvidence, idleness, intemperance, and gambling.

Even the literature of America does not escape the contaminating influence of Slavery. All school books and other works published at the North which show any sympathy with the Slave,

are either wholly shut out from the Southern market, or are published with omissions by the booksellers of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, to suit the tastes of Slave-holders. Reprints of English works (which are circulated with extraordinary promptness through the Union) are generally treated in the same manner. Mr. Abby's "Travels in the United States" is a memorable instance of an English work of interest and ability devoted to remarks upon that country, which has never been reprinted there. The reason will be found in the fact that he was the first traveller of eminence who made it his business to expose, in all its enormity, the prejudice which weighs with such cruel force upon the people of colour, and which renders it difficult for any but those whose natural gifts are extraordinary, to rise above the degradation to which they are doomed by the majority of whites,—*in fact, by the whole people with the exception of the Abolitionists.* Such, however, was the interest excited by Mr. Dickens's "American Notes," that all efforts to suppress their publication in the South, were fruitless; and his terrible chapter on Slavery (the ninth in that work), has happily made its way into the homes of the Slaveholding community.*

The people of America are, probably, most imperfectly acquainted with the effect of their Slave institutions upon public opinion in this, and other European countries. In whatever connection America is named amongst us, the monstrous inconsistency forces itself upon our notice, of a nation priding itself on its love of liberty, declaring that "all men are born free and equal," and yet at the same time exhibiting to the world

* As reference has been made to American literature in connection with the Abolition movement, it may be well farther to remark, that one of the greatest poets the United States have produced, is thoroughly Anti-Slavery. The poems of John Greenleaf Whittier, on the subject of Slavery and the early struggles of the Abolitionists, are full of fire, grace, and beauty, and would do honour to any writer of his father-land. Another author, whose writings have been greatly admired, Mrs. Lydia Maria Child, was amongst the earliest of the Abolitionists. At the commencement of the Anti-Slavery enterprise she was in high estimation with the public; but on her espousal of the obnoxious cause, her works were slighted and almost proscribed; her fashionable acquaintance looked coldly upon her, and her popularity was gone. Mrs. Child was formerly editor of the "*National Anti-Slavery Standard,*" and her "Appeal in behalf of that class of Americans called Africans," was one of the earliest as well as one of the best productions of the Anti-Slavery Press. More recently, Pierpont, Longfellow, Burleigh, and Lowell, as poets, and Emerson and Sumner, as prose writers, have done themselves and their country honour by the heroism with which they have espoused the side of justice, humanity, and true patriotism. In this reference to Anti-Slavery writers in America, it is due to Dr. Snodgrass, editor of the *Saturday Visitor*, published at Baltimore, Maryland, to mention with respect his boldness in withholding Slavery in a Slave State. The noble conduct of Cassius M. Clay in venturing the publication of his *True American in Kentucky*, will be noticed hereafter.

three millions of its citizens in endless Slavery! Our brethren on the other side of the Atlantic must not be surprised, if the blighting influence of their Slavery disinclines numbers of our travel-loving population from journeying in the United States; and they must make some allowance for those who have visited their shores, if, disgusted with what they have seen of Slavery at the South, and of the unchristian treatment of the free coloured people at the North, they have viewed America with prejudiced eyes, and have not done justice either to her people or her institutions. Those of us who remember the state of feeling towards America among a large and intelligent class in this country forty years ago, cannot but remark how expectation and hope have been disappointed in the failure of the experiment so anxiously watched, of the working of a republican government in a civilised and christian country, unfettered by any of the institutions which were too firmly fixed in the Old World to be eradicated. To the continuance and increase of Slavery this failure is mainly attributable: and it is curious to observe the change that has taken place in the sentiments of a large section of English society, from a sanguine belief that true liberty was only to be found in America, to a higher appreciation of English freedom, a greater admiration of the sanctity and even-handedness of English laws, and a deepened attachment to our modified form of monarchical government.

ORIGIN AND INTELLECT OF THE NEGRO.

As the opinion is very general in America that Negroes are a different species from white people, and, as hence is derived one of the arguments in defence of enslaving the blacks, it may be desirable, though somewhat foreign to the design of this "Brief Notice," to remark, that the most prevailing view of Physiologists of the present day is in favour of the unity of our species. Dr. Morton, of Philadelphia, in his valuable work, "Crania Americana," arrives at the conclusion that the various races of human beings, instead of springing from a single pair, were created originally in different localities, "each race being adapted from the beginning to its peculiar local destination." On the other hand, Dr. Prichard, whose extensive researches into this interesting subject have been continued through a period of nearly forty years, following, as he states, "that strict rule of scientific scrutiny which modern philosophy exacts in matters of inductive reasoning, and which requires that we should close our eyes against all presumptive and extrinsic evidence, and abstract our minds from all considerations not derived from matters of fact," is fully satisfied with the truth of the Mosaic record, that a single pair were the parents of the whole human family. Among the most distinguished naturalists of the Continent of Europe, Blumenbach, who devoted a great part of his time during a long

life to the subject, and who made the first great collection of skulls of all races, which for its universality has never yet been rivalled, always maintained the same opinion. In France, the eminent physiologist, M. Flourens, who formerly denied it, has lately declared himself a decided believer in the identity of the species.

Most unphilosophical assumptions are current in America, as to the natural inferiority, and incompetency to receive instruction, of the coloured races.

The so-called science of modern Phrenology (mischievous because false, not false because mischievous, unsupported by Anatomy, and requiring centuries of observation upon millions of human beings, to justify a tenth part of its present pretension to allot particular localities in the brain for the faculties of the mind), has tendered its unworthy and presumptuous services to aid the degradation of the despised and injured Negro. Until those who compose this class of beings have been placed in circumstances favourable to moral and intellectual culture, and the experiment of their improvement has been fairly tested, we are not warranted in the unqualified assertion of their inferiority to those who have hitherto been their oppressors. Numerous instances exist of individuals among them who have evinced eminent talent, and acquired much knowledge, under the greatest difficulties and discouragements.

The long experience of British planters, resident in our colonies, is favourable to the natural capacities of the Negroes. Intelligent West Indians indeed are seldom to be met with, who express any doubt on the subject. Some have strongly advocated the competency of the blacks to profit, equally with Europeans, by such opportunities of improvement as are afforded them. Renn Hampden, Esq., M.P., formerly Chairman of the Privy Council in Barbadoes, maintained that "the blacks are not inferior to the whites in intellect." Others, who have paid attention to this subject, have adopted similar views; among them are the Abbé Grégoire, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Clarkson, &c. In a series of twenty Annual Statements, published by the "*Ladies' Society for Promoting the early Education and improvement of the Children of Negroes and People of Colour in the British West Indies*," embracing a report of a large number of schools and of many thousand children, the great progress of the pupils is often noticed, but no complaint is made of their incapacity to receive instruction. Were it possible for a given number of the children of the aristocracy of England and of the American Slaves to exchange situations from the moment of birth, it is by no means certain that the kindly-treated, educated, *christianised* Negro in England, would not be as superior to the white Slave in America, as the free European now is, compared with the enslaved African. But were it improbable that an advance of this extent could take place in a single gene-

ration, it is not disputed that the present race is susceptible of considerable mental elevation. And as regards the future, there seems little reason for doubting that a successive improvement would take place through a series of generations, by a constant increase and training of the mental faculties; for, agreeably to the opinion of the best physiologists, such improvements become organic, and so affect the race, after several repetitions, as to form what may be termed the mould to a new character. Even those who hold Dr. Morton's view on this point, cannot deny that the powers of speech, of reasoning, of feeling, of sympathy, constitute the Negro a human being with moral responsibility; and, consequently, that he has a claim on his fellow-creatures for all that consideration which Christianity enjoins from man to man.

ABOLITION MOVEMENT.

It was not to be expected that the conscience of the whole people of America could long slumber under such a load of evil and iniquity as that which Slavery fostered among them; and about thirty years ago a society was formed, called the Colonization Society, professing to have in view the gradual abolition of Slavery by the removal of all the Slaves and free coloured people to Liberia, in Africa. Large funds were collected for this scheme, and many who were hostile to Slavery united in it. But in process of time its utter inefficiency became apparent: there was, indeed, reason to suspect that its original intent was to lull opposition to Slavery, and to serve the interests of the Slave-holder, by getting rid of the free people of colour, who have always been disliked and dreaded by the planters, as likely to render their negroes more discontented. This supposition derives support from the circumstance of Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Clarkson, who at first sympathised with the Colonization Society, having subsequently withdrawn their countenance from it; and also from the fact, that the presidents and patrons of the Colonization Society have generally been Slave-holders, or strong opponents to the efforts of the Abolitionists. But, without imputing insincerity to the founders of this institution, its inefficacy was absurdly glaring when, after being in existence for *sixteen years*, it was ascertained that as many blacks had been exported to Liberia as were born in *one fortnight* in the United States,—the Slave population in that period having increased 500,000, and having been diminished by the Colonization Society 500!

More decided efforts against Slavery, which was every year increasing, sprang up in 1830 and following years, in the form of Abolition Societies. The first Anti-Slavery Society, on the principle of the religious duty of immediately abolishing Slavery, was established in Boston, in 1832. The first Anti-Slavery Convention was held in Philadelphia, in December, 1833, and was attended by delegates from ten States out of the twenty-four

(from the six which compose New England, from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Ohio). At the end of 1834 the Auxiliary Anti-Slavery Societies amounted to 200.

Even in this short notice, it would be injustice to omit the mention of Mr. Wm. Lloyd Garrison, as the earliest promoter, the founder, indeed, of these institutions. Associated with him have been many men and women who are alike an honour to their nation and their race.*

No object of public benevolence in our country, however zealously promoted, can convey any idea of the labours, the trials, the dangers of the American Abolitionists; and the history of philanthropic enterprise records no more disinterested and devoted labourers in the cause of humanity than have graced the ranks of this noble band. Unappalled by the murder of some of their number, by the imprisonment of others, by threatenings of death, by various acts of personal violence, by the hostility of the public generally, in the Free, almost as much as in the Slave States,—unsubdued by the coldness and reproaches of their friends and connexions, by the indifference, and too often by the censures, of the ministers of that religion the precepts of which had called them to their work,—they have proceeded steadily in the consecration of their time, their talents, and their property, to the interests of the oppressed and friendless Slave.

It is no part of the object of this notice to enter upon the differing views of American Anti-Slavery Societies, as to the fittest mode of carrying on the mighty contest in which they are engaged. To expect unanimity among the individuals who form them, would be to hope for what is contrary to the character of the human mind. In the ranks of those who unite in this enterprise some are ardent and unhesitating, others timid and cautious; some self-sacrificing, others more considerate of their personal interests; some boldly follow the call of truth and duty whithersoever it may lead, others deliberate on the worldly policy and expediency of their measures; regardless of the opinions of those around them, some pursue their straight forward path, while the fear of ridicule and censure, or loss of caste in the circles in which they move, confine within very moderate bounds the Anti-Slavery efforts of others. Some are deterred from active and open exertion by the opinions of those clergymen to whom they have been accustomed to look up for guidance in their temporal and spiritual affairs; others, feeling themselves constrained to pursue the line of duty which they think the Bible points out to them, will not allow the dictation of a course of

* Those acquainted with the society of Massachusetts, will not doubt that an organization including the names of Messrs. Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Francis C. Jackson, Edmund Quincy, S. J. May, S. May, Mrs. Chapman, Mrs. Follen, the Misses Weston, Miss Cabot, Mrs. Foster (late Miss Abby Kelley), &c., &c., must ensure both influence and respect.

conduct that is, in their view, opposed to the precepts of the Gospel. Some advocate immediate emancipation, others more gradual measures ; some endeavour to influence the Legislature by political action, voting only for such representatives in Congress as will oppose the Slave-holding interest ; others consider this mode of proceeding as utterly futile, and feeling that the present American Constitution requires of them an acquiescence in laws favouring Slavery entirely at variance with their ideas of duty to God, refuse from conscientious motives to exercise their political rights, maintaining that they are called upon to aim at a dissolution of the Union, instead of affording any support to the present Constitution.

In these, and in innumerable other instances, will the opinions of Abolitionists be found to differ, and societies will naturally be formed of those who take similar views, or are influenced by similar feelings. And if difference of sentiment occasionally excite want of candour and forbearance among organizations of men, having the same great purpose in contemplation, though disagreeing in the means of accomplishing it, we must not expect from American Abolitionists that freedom from human infirmitiy which is found neither amongst religious professors, nor in any class of philanthropists. This very want of unanimity may, in the hands of Providence, be instrumental in bringing about the important end contemplated by all the labourers in the Anti-Slavery vineyard. The work thus divided, some toiling in one direction, some in another, may be the more speedily and more perfectly completed.

In affording to the American Abolitionist that sympathy and assistance which he solicits and deserves from the land of his forefathers, it is not necessary for us to enter into the peculiarities that distinguish various societies. To all sincerely interested in freeing their country from the crime, the consequences, and the odium of Slave-holding, we may unhesitatingly bid God speed. But from a conviction that, *upon the whole*, the mode of action of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY is best suited to the magnitude of the evil to be struggled against, the writer of these remarks will hold principally in view this Association and its various auxiliaries, amongst which are the "Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society" (the original one that was formed in 1832), and the "Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society," established in the autumn of 1835, and remarkable for the distinguished ladies to whom it is indebted for its eminence and efficiency.

To aid an annual fair, or bazaar held at Boston for the benefit of these Associations, a large box of useful and ornamental articles, made or purchased by those who were desirous of showing their good will in the cause of the oppressed Slave, has been sent from Bristol during the last two years ; and it was

for the purpose of extending a knowledge of this tribute, which it is hoped will be continued, that the writer of these observations has been induced to undertake the task of diffusing some information upon the Abolition movement in America.

Several American journals advocate Anti-Slavery principles, but the official organ of the "American Anti-Slavery Society" is the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, a large-sized weekly paper, published at New York, the subscription being two dollars a-year, or rather less than two-pence for each paper. It may be received in England twice monthly by post from America, upon the payment of only an additional two-pence on each copy, and it furnishes a record of every interesting proceeding in the Abolition cause.

Almost from the commencement of the Anti-Slavery movement, a weekly journal has been published in Boston called the *Liberator*, originated and still edited by Mr. W. L. Garrison. This sheet is not the organ of any society, but contains energetic appeals in favour of the Slave, and an ample account of all the proceedings of the Abolitionists. It is remarkable for the fearlessness and magnanimity with which it gives copious quotations from the arguments and calumnies continually employed by hostile prints against the course pursued by the promoters of the Anti-Slavery cause. The *Liberator* discusses various moral, religious, and philanthropic topics that are entirely unconnected with the Slavery question, and often with a degree of freedom and want of selection not suitable to English taste. It may be questioned whether Abolitionism would not be more benefited by the omission of such discussions. Most unjustly, however, do the opponents of the Anti-Slavery Societies, both at the North and South, charge the body of Abolitionists with holding and connecting with Abolitionism all unpopular or objectionable opinions advocated by the editor, or his correspondents, upon other subjects. It is the boast of these societies, that while their platform is open to the honest advocate of emancipation, whatever be his religious or political creed, they carefully exclude from their proceedings all objects that are not strictly of an Anti-Slavery character.

None of the funds of the "American Anti-Slavery Society" are employed in efforts to control political elections. Its members have little hope of sending an efficient number of Anti-Slavery representatives to Congress, until the public mind is more enlightened and the public conscience more aroused to the sin of Slavery.

One large Anti-Slavery body in America, however, called the "Liberty Party," aim at effecting the abolition of Slavery by means of political action, and consequently feel themselves justified in escaping the odium of uniting in the unpopular efforts of the "American Anti-Slavery Society," from which they separated.

But it does not appear, though many able men belong to their number, that their prospects are very encouraging. At the last Presidential election they did not poll more than 63,000 out of 1,500,000 or 2,000,000 voters.

PURPOSES AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE ABOLITIONISTS.

The great object of the American Abolitionists may be simply stated as that of *awakening the national conscience to the guilt of Slavery*.

They maintain that man has no right to hold his fellow-being in bondage, to trade in his person, to rob him of the fruits of his bodily labour, at the same time enveloping his soul in moral darkness; and they demand of the Government for their wronged fellow-subjects an immediate restoration of their natural rights.

The bond of union of the "American Anti-Slavery Society" is that "Slave-holding is a sin against God under all circumstances, and ought to be immediately abandoned." They do not deal with minutiae, advocating this scheme of emancipation or that; —they point to the American "Declaration of Independence," which asserts that "*All men are born free and equal, and all are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,*" and they ask how the existence of three millions of human beings in abject, cruel servitude, is consistent with such a high-toned profession?

The measures adopted for spreading the requisite knowledge of the vast extent and wickedness of Slavery, and for rousing the nation to a sense, not only of the sin of a system so opposed to the laws of God and man, but of its danger to the safety and best interest of their country, are—the extensive diffusion of publications, the employment of lecturers in the Free States, and the promotion in various ways of public meetings, where resolutions opposed to Slavery are passed, and protests signed. For efficiently carrying out these purposes considerable funds are needed, and noble, indeed, is the liberality of the Abolitionists towards this object. But their cause is yet so unpopular and unfashionable, that the number of the wealthier classes, or of the more prominent professors in the various religious bodies who join in the movement is comparatively small. Annual fairs (or bazaars) are resorted to as one method of procuring funds, and the last, held at Boston in December, 1845, produced 3,700 dollars, nearly £750, leaving a very large number of valuable articles for sale during the summer months.

Whatever be the mode of action pursued by the various Anti-Slavery Societies, *all agree in the necessity of effecting the contemplated change in a peaceful manner, violence of every kind being universally deprecated.* Indeed, many members of the *American Anti-Slavery Society* (which is the most uncompro-

mising association of any in the contest with Slave-holders) are *Non-Resistants*, a name given to persons advocating the view held by the society of Friends, that violence is unlawful on all occasions, even in self-defence.

A very important principle is now begun to be extensively acted upon by the Abolitionists, which has subjected them to the false charge of being opposed to all forms of government. They have called in question the moral character of the United States' Constitution, and of the propriety of voting and holding office under it. It is maintained that a Constitution containing provisions so flagrantly opposed to the laws of God, and to the dictates of humanity in regard to the rights of man, ought not to be supported; and experience has proved that they who do hold office generally employ their influence in upholding Slavery. Those who vote for candidates for public offices, it is argued, virtually pledge themselves to fulfil the following conditions contained in the Constitution in favour of Slavery:—

- 1.—To deliver up fugitive Slaves.
- 2.—That the naval and military force shall be employed to quell a Slave insurrection.
- 3.—That the Federal Government shall protect Slave States against foreign invasion.
- 4.—That Slave-owners shall be allowed a representation for their Slaves in the National Legislature, equal to three-fourths of the same number of free persons.

To fulfil these stipulations, they say, would be to incur the guilt of Slave-holding; whilst swearing themselves, or appointing others to swear, to fulfil them, with no intention of doing so, would be perjury. Many, therefore, entertaining such views, have adopted the motto of "*No union with Slave-holders*;" and by giving no support to the civil institutions of the land, by ceasing to hold office, by withdrawing from ecclesiastical associations with which slave-holders are joined, and by bearing in word and deed a constant protest against the national constitutional government, they aim to assist in bringing about a peaceful revolution in the country; for which conduct they are unjustly accused by their enemies of being opposed to all human government.

The following "*Disunion Pledge*" is now widely circulated, and extensively signed, by those who adopt the views just detailed:—

"We, the undersigned, to signify our abhorrence of injustice and oppression, and to clear our skirts from innocent blood, do hereby pledge ourselves in all suitable ways to strive for the peaceable dissolution of the Union, as the most consistent, feasible, and efficient means of abolishing Slavery."

A dissolution of the Union, it is affirmed, would inevitably put an end to Slavery in the United States. Deprived of the protection of the military force of the North, the Southern State

could not prevent a servile rebellion; and the conversion of Slave into Free labour would be the necessary consequence.

Another pledge in course of signature in America, called the "Anti-Slavery Peace Pledge," is as follows:—

"We, the undersigned, do hereby solemnly pledge ourselves not to countenance or aid the United States' Government in any war which may be occasioned by the annexation of Texas, or in any other war, *foreign* or *domestic*, designed to strengthen or perpetuate Slavery."

In reference to these important declarations, an American writer says,—"Should the Republic go to war to support Slavery, be it with Mexico, France, Spain, or England, she will find tens of thousands in her midst who will do all in their power to cripple her means, and defeat her aim. Many would oppose because they are 'Non-Resistants,' and many because they will never draw the sword in support of Slavery. The Abolitionists of America, if they fight at all, will be found in the ranks of her enemies, whoever they may be, provided those enemies proclaim liberty to the Slaves."

DIFFICULTIES OF ABOLITIONISTS.

An English reader of the history of Slavery, as it at this moment exists in the Southern States of the American Union, would naturally suppose that the Free Northern States would, with one voice, protest against the continuance of an institution so degrading to their professed love of liberty, so full of iniquity, and so replete with danger to the existence of the Federal Union. He would conclude that in a country where no ecclesiastical establishment connected with the State limited within certain rules the official duties of the clergy, their pulpits would ring, Sabbath after Sabbath, with exhortations to repentance and repudiation of their great national sin. He would presume that the difficulties of the Abolitionists consisted in devising a safe and judicious scheme for the emancipation of their Slaves, and not in obtaining assistance and encouragement from their fellow-citizens, whether lay or clerical. Far different, however, is the actual condition of this philanthropic movement in the free portion of the United States.* The Abolitionists declare that if the clergy saw it to be their duty to denounce as they would any other sin, that of robbing human beings of their natural rights and treating them as chattel property, Slavery could not exist another year in that country. And in addition to this apathy on the part of the clergy, they describe the ramifications of the Slave-holding system,—through the medium of commer-

* In speaking of the clergy and religious bodies of America (where, as is well known, there is no established church), all denominations of Christians are included, whether Protestant Episcopalians, Catholics, Independents, Methodists, Members of the Society of Friends, Presbyterians, Unitarians, Universalists, &c.

cial pursuits, family and social connexions, political predilections, and church associations,—to be so interwoven with the feelings, habits, and interests of the inhabitants of the Free States, as to blind their moral sense to the magnitude of the evil which is undermining the national character, and portending incalculable calamity to their future welfare. "Selfishness," say the Abolitionists, "is our great obstacle. The man of business fears to lose his money, or the opportunity of getting it; the commission merchant wants consignments of Southern products; the Northern creditor of the planter holds a mortgage on his human live stock; another holds uncultivated lands in distant parts that will need Slave labour; the teacher fears offending the parents of his pupils; the merchant's ships are in Southern parts waiting to carry a cargo of Slaves from one State to another; a Northern gentleman, not friendly himself to Slavery, may have one son a cotton agent at New Orleans, another a clergyman in Mississippi, or a daughter married to a planter in Georgia. Thus, and in a thousand other ways, are Northern citizens opposed to Abolitionism, while their clergy are afraid of offending their parishioners by touching upon the unwelcome and forbidden topic."

Some inhabitants of the Northern States possess Slave property in the South, and obtain returns from it by letting out their Slaves on hire.

Most painful are those parts of the statements of the American Abolitionists in their public meetings and in their printed annual reports, which refer to the conduct of their clergy in relation to Slavery. It is almost impossible, in perusing them, not to sympathize in the deep feeling of regret and disappointment which these statements express. On the other hand, we are bound not to be led away by a contemplation of the wrongs of the Slave, from putting a charitable construction upon the motives and conduct of others. And while making allowance for the absorbing interest in their enterprize felt by the Abolitionists, and for the difficulty they may find in comprehending the reasonings of those who have ever been accustomed to regard the subject in an entirely opposite point of view, we have no right to consider every Slave-holder as rapacious, inhuman, and irreligious; nor every Christian minister as faithless to his high calling, who does not denounce Slavery as the Abolitionists wish him to do. If we are inclined to regret that the minds of the clergy are not more enlightened, and their consciences more awakened, still we are not justified in concluding that they do not act agreeably to the dictates of judgment, and their convictions of duty. Some of the Abolitionists themselves, by their ardor, and indifference to personal and other consequences,—by the uncompromising, enthusiastic manner in which they have rushed into the Anti-Slavery field,—may have alarmed many less energetic minds, and pre-

vanted, on the part of more timid and retiring persons, co-operation in a cause which, in their view at least, required more calmness, forbearance, and prudence, than appeared to them to characterize the proceedings of Abolition Societies.

The eminent Dr. Channing, whose powerful writings against slavery must have an increasing influence in forwarding the destruction of the system, did not come forward until the Abolitionists had been for some years exerting themselves, and never joined any of the Anti-Slavery Societies.

This subject is not only a painful, but a very difficult one for us to investigate so as to arrive at satisfactory conclusions. The American ministers maintain that we in this country cannot possibly be aware of the various circumstances of their position which prevent them from taking an open and decided part in opposition to Slavery, and entreat us to give them credit for acting as wisdom and conscience dictate, though they may not adopt the course we think they ought to pursue. We readily accord to them this claim, yet we venture to ask if, removed as we are from the influences which may tend to mislead their judgment and embarrass their action, *we* may not have the power of seeing more clearly than they can the pointings of their duty? And when we consider the vast extent of the efforts of the Anti-Slavery Associations during the last fifteen years, the immense number of their publications, the defence of their principles and conduct against an almost unprecedented amount of opposition, obloquy, and persecution;—when we see these societies, not only surmounting all attempts to put them down, but daily increasing in number, and the promoters of them free from all suspicion of selfish objects, defying the Slave-holders of the South and the Slave-supporters of the North to impeach their motives, to refute their arguments, or defame their characters,—justice to the Abolitionists demands of us the admission that they have at least put us in possession of some important elements for forming a judgment on the merits of their case.

One fact, at any rate, is within the scope of our observation. In the heart of a civilized, Christian nation,—one exulting in the freedom of its laws and government,—is an institution, outraging the laws of God and man by allowing three millions of human beings to be robbed of their birth-right, sold as cattle, and treated with severe cruelty, against which comparatively few of their clergy raise an audible voice.

Whatever opinions we may be disposed to form as to the duty of the American ministers of religion on this disputed subject, we ought, in order to obtain any clear views of it, to know the nature of the charges made by the Abolitionists against the majority of their clergy of every denomination.

They do not hesitate to speak of the church as the great “bulwark of Slavery.” “The churches of the South,” they tell us,

"hold Slaves, both in their church capacity and through their individual members, and are sustained as Christians and as Christian churches in so doing, by the churches and Christians at the North." The lawfulness of Slavery is maintained by some ministers by appeals to the Bible. A Slave has been sold for the purchase of communion plate. The Theological Synod of South Carolina and Georgia recently sold eight human beings to procure money for educating Presbyterian Ministers. The clergy at the North generally condemn the Abolitionists as a body of fanatics. Few would venture publicly to pray for the freedom of the Slave; while giving notice of an Anti-Slavery meeting would frequently subject ministers to the severest censures of members of their churches. There exists among them a conventional agreement to speak of Slavery "*in the abstract*" as a great evil; but they take no measures for its removal. The Abolitionists say to the ministers of the Free States,—"If you disapprove of our measures, if you think us too violent and injudicious in our course, let us see that you are sincere in your professed horror of Slavery by your adopting other measures for its removal. Do not foster the prejudice against colour by treating free men residing in your own cities with contumely and scorn, because they happen to be less white than yourselves; do not exclude them from mixing with white children in charity schools; do not in your churches separate them from the rest of the congregation, and compel them to occupy 'negro pews'; do not insult them even in death by insisting that they shall be buried at a distance from their white brethren. With such a sphere of influence as you enjoy, do not dare to incur the awful responsibility of maintaining that 'Silence is your duty on this question.' Petition for the abolition of the Slave market in the free city of Washington, where the Congress holds its sittings. Demand the abrogation of the laws compelling Free States to surrender fugitive Slaves to their masters. Insist that a State cannot be called free if the Slave have not the same liberty there that he would find in going a little farther north, to the British possessions in Canada. In your public ministrations preach in behalf of the Slave; pray for his liberty. *We do not ask you to join our societies, or adopt our plans; but we call upon you to do SOMETHING for the Slave;* we ask you to prove by your open conduct in contending against the sin of Slave-holding, the sincerity of your professions as men and as Christians. We call upon you as persons who will have hereafter to give an account of your stewardship, to exert the power you possess over the great mass of American society, to arouse their attention to the deep sin with which the nation is stained, and to exertion for its removal."

So strong is the feeling among some of the Abolitionists of the unfaithfulness to duty on the part of their clergy, that many

have left the religious societies with which they were connected, being unable, as they say, to derive spiritual comfort and improvement from the ministrations of persons who so imperfectly and reservedly carry forward the great principles of Christianity.

The clergy, on the other hand, maintain that their abstaining from allusions to Slavery is necessary for the preservation of their usefulness and influence among their people.*

Whatever opinion we may form as to the propriety of this withdrawal from ecclesiastical associations, there is no reason for our thinking that those who have conscientiously taken the step are the least serious or religious portion of the community; though the course they have pursued has procured for them the reproach of being hostile to religion, much in the same way that the refusal to support by their votes a Constitution which they view as requiring of them sinful compliances, has obtained for others the charge of being opposed to all human government.

It does not appear that we in this country are called upon to enter into, and give an opinion upon, these and similar views adopted by various American Abolitionists, in the conscientious, self-sacrificing fulfilment of the great mission they have undertaken. They differ among themselves upon many points in their modes of action, and in consequence afford much handle to those opposed to their undertaking generally, or to their particular line of conduct, to censure and condemn them. Justice, at the same time, requires that we should be cautious in placing implicit confidence in the accusations of their opponents. When we find some accused of being infidels in religion, and anarchists in politics, according to the views they hold as to the criminal apathy of their clergy, or the pro-Slavery character of their Constitution,—when we observe that because the cruel, disgusting, debasing, and sinful treatment of a million of their own sex has roused the wives, the mothers, the sisters, and the daughters of the North to make their voices heard beyond the precincts of the domestic circle in behalf of the Female Slave, the Abolitionists are accused of advocating what has been sneeringly termed “*Woman's rights*,”—we must not allow ourselves to be led away to

* The dispute between this class of Abolitionists and their opponents is very intelligible. The latter assert that the discussion of this “delicate question” would disturb the harmony of their Churches, and consequently that the *interests of religion* would suffer. The Abolitionists maintain, that the “*interests of religion*” and of sectarian associations are not identical;—that true religion cannot be promoted by permitting a fearful national sin to remain unrebuked;—that it can serve the best interests of no Church to disregard the great principles of the Gospel;—that it is not by paying “tithe of mint, and anise, and cummin,” that vital Christianity is to be cherished, but by observing “the weightier matters of the law,—judgment, mercy, and faith.” These arguments are powerfully urged by Mr. Birney, in his work entitled “The American Church the Bulwark of American Slavery.”

the conclusion that the party upon whom this obloquy is heaped is deserving of it.

Any direct extension of their views into the Slave States, the Abolitionists find an almost impracticable task. So violent is the prejudice against them, that the life of a known Abolitionist would not be safe in a Southern State. The post-masters in the Slave States have power to destroy any Anti-Slavery papers passing through the post-office. Even a Constitutional discussion of the subject is forbidden by the utter disregard of the laws of the country, exhibited by persons of wealth and station when this exciting topic is agitated. Respected as our laws are in England, and interested as the intellectual classes are, and all who may have property in the country, in maintaining their sanctity, it will be scarcely credited to what an extent the Americans disregard their laws. Mr. Cassius M. Clay,—a gentleman of cultivated mind, superior talents, and good family, in the State of Kentucky, who had liberated his Slaves and established a paper called the *True American*, in which he advocated the very gradual abolition of Slavery,—having, in 1845, published some articles considered dangerous to the “*peculiar institution*,” was commanded to desist from continuing his paper by a committee of sixty gentlemen, merchants, planters, &c., of Lexington, the town in which he resided; and on his refusal to obey this self-appointed tribunal, they forcibly entered his office, took his presses to pieces, packed them up and sent them to Cincinnati, in the Free State of Ohio, “*resolving*” that no Abolition newspaper should be published in Kentucky. On a prosecution of some of this respectable mob, the parties were acquitted, the judge declaring that *in emergencies there was no obligation to observe the slow forms of law*.*

In 1844, the Hon. Samuel Hoare, a gentleman of long experience at the bar and in the Councils of the State and Nation, was deputed by the Massachusetts Commonwealth to proceed to Charleston for the purpose of collecting facts, and prosecuting a suit in the Supreme Court at the expence of the State, in order to determine how far the laws of South Carolina warranted the imprisonment of *free* coloured people who arrived there on ship-board. The public authorities, however, would neither recognize nor protect Mr. Hoare on his mission; the Governor and Legislature passed angry resolutions; he was waited upon by

* The following additional example may be given of the contempt for the law exhibited in America:—A black man at St. Louis, in Missouri, named McIntosh, who had stabbed an officer by whom he was arrested, was tied to a tree in the middle of the city by the inhabitants, was surrounded by piles of wood, and slowly burned to death. The details of the murder are dreadful. The Hon. Luke E. Lawless, Judge of the Circuit Court of Missouri, decided officially, that, “as this burning of McIntosh was the act of a *majority*, it was a case that transcended the jurisdiction of the Grand Jury”!

the Sheriff and some gentlemen of the town, who informed him that his life was not secure; and it was at length made evident to him that his personal safety demanded his immediate escape from the place.

Though no Anti-Slavery *demonstration* can be ventured on in the Southern States, it is well known that in the breasts of many persons residing there, an earnest desire exists to aid in the abolition of Slavery, and that they are able in various silent methods to forward the cause. So well ascertained is this fact, that it has been determined to have a table, at the next Boston Anti-Slavery bazaar, appropriated exclusively to articles contributed from the Slave States.

SUCCESS AND PROSPECTS OF THE ABOLITIONISTS.

Among the people of the Northern States, accustomed from infancy to regard the cruelty and injustice of a remote institution with indifference,—habituated themselves to the practice of a minor degree of tyranny and unchristian conduct towards a portion of their own fellow-citizens, and with their personal interests much bound up with the existing order of things,—a great moral movement having for its object the arousing the consciences of the inhabitants to a sense of national guilt, cannot but proceed slowly, and without affording, excepting after long intervals, any clear indications of progress. Yet, though the Abolitionists have had almost incredible difficulties to contend against and much to dispirit them, they consider their cause as making some advance, and as now brightening beyond their previous expectations.

Formerly they could not hold meetings in the towns of the Free States without personal hazard: now they are not only undisturbed, but many of the State Halls are thrown open to them, and their assemblies are attended by enthusiastic crowds. It would, indeed, be contrary to the natural and usual progress of events, if, among a large and intelligent people, professing their belief in the Christian religion, and their obligation to conform to its requirements, the unwearied efforts for years of a body of disinterested persons (whose honesty of purpose was beyond all suspicion), to expose a palpable and national sin of most destructive influence and portentous aspect, did not produce some decided effect. In the year 1830 there was not a single Anti-Slavery Society in America, now there are many hundreds. Newspapers and other publications advocating the Abolition of Slavery, are also very numerous in the Northern States.

From the schisms that have taken place in some of the religious bodies as to their duty in regard to Slavery, the Abolitionists infer that a considerable awakening of the conscience of *serious people* is taking place, and they augur well from this circumstance.

In 1844, the Methodist Episcopal Conference, after a very protracted debate, came to a decision requesting Dr. Andrews, one of their Bishops, who was then a Slave-holder, to refrain from the exercise of his episcopal functions.

If their clergy do not encourage the religious societies with which they are connected to advocate the cause of the oppressed Slave, the Anti-Slavery party now entertain the hope that the congregations, in advance of their ministers upon this vital question, will induce them to *follow*, though they will not *lead*, their flocks.

Even in this country, attention is so much directed to the conduct of the American Ministers in reference to Slavery in the United States, that those who visit England and are known to be favourable to Slavery, or even those who have taken no part in efforts for its abolition, are, in many of our towns, less likely to meet with the cordial welcome to the pulpits of those in the same communion with themselves, which was accorded to them some years ago, when the question of American Slavery was less understood here. In Scotland a powerful opposition has arisen among the members of the Free Church, to accepting the contributions of Slave-holders in America, towards the erection of their new places of worship. The Abolitionists view with considerable interest, a decided protest against the cruel system of Slavery, issued during the last year, and signed by 173 American ministers belonging to one denomination of Christians—the Unitarians.

The 13th annual Anti-Slavery Bazaar in Boston, which took place at the close of 1845, was upon a more extensive scale than any former one. It was held in one of the largest public halls, and the net proceeds exceeded by a thousand dollars the amount received on any previous occasion. The growing attention to American Slavery in this country, as evidenced by our public journals, by the unusual number of contributions from Great Britain and Ireland to the late bazaar, and by other unequivocal demonstrations, affords much encouragement to the Abolitionists.

We are apt to imagine here, that the American Abolitionists are advocating some specific plans for effecting the change from Slave to Free labour, and that they are endeavouring to influence public opinion in favour of their schemes. Such, however, is far from being the case; they do not regard it as their business to make any suggestions of this nature: unhappily the sentiment of the nation is not yet even adverse to the existence of Slavery. The Abolitionists are but the pioneers in the moral mission of opening the eyes of their country to the sinfulness of a degrading institution, which is weighing heavily upon the best interests of the people, and disgracing them in the eyes of foreigners. They call upon the people to remove the stain upon

the Republic, of holding three millions of their fellow-men in cruel bondage. They cannot believe that Providence will long allow the continuance of such iniquity in a land of professed Christians, and they urge their fellow-citizens to effect *peaceably* that change, which, if not thus brought about, they believe will be produced by scenes of violence and bloodshed too dreadful and extensive to bear contemplation. They feel that if they had but the ministers of religion on their side, their victory over the opinion of the nation would be a speedy one. If, therefore, we find in their speeches and writings the condemnation of their clergy, expressed in language which we cannot but think inconsistent with Christian gentleness and charity, we are called upon also to consider the position in which they are placed, and to make some allowance for the warmth which may appear to them required to melt the icy atmosphere by which they are surrounded. While doubting, however, whether such a cause as that in which they are engaged will be forwarded by acrimonious language, and by an uncandid construction of the motives which may influence many who do not join with them, we need not hesitate to afford the sympathy in their holy enterprise which they solicit from us, or any aid which they may point out to us as likely to be valuable.

The Abolitionists consider such to be the increased attention to the subject of Slavery, and such the progress of events in America, that indifference to the evil, condemnation of "*Slavery in the abstract*" as a subterfuge for *doing* nothing for its removal, or halting between two opinions, cannot long continue, particularly as regards the clergy, and the intelligent and humane of the inhabitants of the Free States generally. The time appears to be approaching when the occurrence of various remarkable circumstances will compel a decision either in favour of, or against Slavery. Indeed, that such are already taking place and demanding an unequivocal expression of opinion, will appear from the following examples.

The Constitution of the United States requires that fugitive Slaves should be given up if demanded by their masters; and the Slave-holders and their friends call upon the inhabitants of the Northern States to obey the requisition of the Constitution, and afford no asylum to their lost property. The Abolitionists, on the contrary, and with them thousands of other humane people, believe that in sheltering the poor Slave, whose personal freedom and the wages of whose labour none have a right to deprive him of, they are discharging a duty to a fellow-creature, and "*obeying God rather than man*." Marked instances of the public profession of this principle are occurring. In 1844, Francis Jackson, Esq., of Boston, a magistrate, resigned his commission of the *peace*, on the ground of being unable conscientiously to afford that *obedience to the law* which his oath, as qualifying for office,

required of him. He maintained that the call of duty and humanity were in favour of the Slave, and not of the master: and in his letter of resignation, to his Excellency Governor Briggs, he makes this emphatic declaration:—"That part of the Constitution which provides for the surrender of fugitive Slaves, I never have supported, and never will. I will join in no Slave-hunt. My door shall stand open, as it has long stood, for the panting and trembling victim of the Slave-hunter. When I shut my door against him, may God shut the door of His mercy against me!"

Upon the same grounds, a justice of the peace, of Indiana, has transmitted his resignation of office.

The Rev. Charles T. Torrey is now suffering under the sentence of imprisonment of six years, in a gaol in Maryland, for assisting Slaves to escape. One party maintains that he is undergoing a just punishment, for violating the laws of the country, well knowing the penalty he incurred. Mr. Torrey, on the other hand, declares (and he carries with him the full sympathy of a large class of Americans in his assertion), that what is regarded and punished as a crime in the United States, would be commended as an act of humanity and Christian duty, had it been performed in behalf of white captives in Turkey or Africa. In reference to Mr. Torrey's incarceration, the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, at their annual meeting, in 1845, passed a resolution, in which they express, in strong terms, condemnation of the apathy of the clergy of that Commonwealth, for "tamely and quietly acquiescing in the imprisonment of one of their number, for a deed which does honour to his profession."

In 1844, Captain Jonathan Walker, who allowed seven Slaves to sail with him in his vessel from Pensacola, in West Florida, in the hopes of their being safely landed in the British islands of Bermuda, was, owing to illness, unable to navigate his boat on her voyage, and being captured, was sent back to Pensacola. The Negroes were returned to their owners, and Captain Walker put into prison, where he nearly lost his life from the want of comforts during his severe illness. He was afterwards tried, convicted, exposed for an hour in the pillory, the letters S.S. (Slave Stealer) branded on his hand with a hot iron, a heavy fine imposed on him, and his imprisonment continued, until kind friends came forward to pay the large sum demanded of him, amounting to 596 dollars. The Slave-holders say that Captain Walker suffered less than his deserts, and ought to be thankful for getting off so easily. The Anti-Slavery party applaud him for his generous and benevolent efforts in behalf of the oppressed Slave. He is now engaged as a lecturer in favour of Abolition, and produces much excitement by exhibiting his branded hand, and exposing the wickedness of Slavery.

While Captain Walker was in prison, a resolution of sympathy and commendation, passed at a meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society in London, was transmitted to him by the secretary, Mr. Scoble. The document was forcibly taken from him, and laid before a Committee of the Legislative Council of the territory of Florida. In their report on the occasion, the Committee express the greatest indignation at the interference of English Abolitionists in their concerns, and recommend that in future the punishment for assisting Slaves to escape, be death!

In 1844, also in South Carolina, a man of the name of John L. Brown was condemned to be hanged for assisting in the escape of a Slave. It is attributed in a great measure to the indignation expressed by the inhabitants of this country, not only at public meetings, but even in the House of Lords, that the cruel sentence was not carried into execution.

These instances are sufficient to show how impossible it is, that the mass of American people in the Northern States should long occupy a neutral position, that they should long practice "the duty of observing silence with respect to Slavery" (as recommended by an eminent minister at a public meeting), while events of so daring a character are continually demanding a sentiment of approval or condemnation.

The recent annexation of Texas to the United States, though vehemently resisted by all opposed to Slavery, will probably tend to hasten its downfall, from the glaring support to the institution which this measure was intended to give, by introducing into the Union an extent of territory capable of being parcelled out into eight or ten new States. The Abolitionists declare this proceeding to be far more revolutionary than any they advocate. As each individual inhabitant of Texas, happening to possess 100 Slaves, has political power equal to 61 freemen in the Northern States, a still more unfair proportion of the Slaveholding interests is thus let into the Representation at Congress, which must have been quite out of contemplation when the original Constitution was framed. Many at the North maintain that they are, by this act of the Legislature, absolved from all obligation to a Government which has thus violated the conditions of their union with the Southern States. An immense market for the Slave-breeding States is now opened in Texas; and the more numerous the Slaves are, the greater will be the extent of political power of the Slave-holders in Congress. The Abolitionists rejoice that some who held back from committing themselves publicly to any opinion upon Slavery as it formerly existed, have ventured to speak out since the bold and unequivocal pro-Slavery act of annexing Texas has been consummated.

**GENERAL REMARKS.—CLAIM OF THE ABOLITIONISTS ON
BRITISH SYMPATHY AND AID.**

That Slavery will be put an end to at no very distant period, appears to be the expectation of all who have no direct interest in its continuance,—even of those who will take no steps in hastening this desirable event. But when it is considered that by births and importation 150,000 Slaves are now being yearly added to the already existing millions, remote, indeed, must be their emancipation if no efforts be made to promote it. The ex-President, John Quincy Adams, who has never given a single vote in Congress in favour of Abolition measures (though he has, amidst much odium, strenuously supported the right of petitioning for them), uses this strong language in an address to the coloured population who were celebrating his visit to Cincinnati, in 1843 : “ That Slavery will be abolished in this country and throughout the world, I firmly believe. Whether it shall be done peaceably or by blood, God only knows; but that it shall be accomplished I have no doubt; and by whatever way, I say—let it come.”

“ Let us,” says Mr. Abdy, “ root out Slavery in the United States, and it will not long poison the atmosphere of Brazil and the West Indies. In its present vigour it co-operates with every kind of cruelty and injustice wherever at work or latent. It retards the progress of liberty, whether political, religious, or social; and it tends to throw an odium as well upon free institutions, as on those who sigh for their promotion.”

To prevent, however, so dire a catastrophe as the termination of Slavery by rebellion and the massacre of thousands, is the great aim of the slandered Abolitionists of America. They maintain that a bloodless revolution may be effected in the present system of Slavery, if the object were ardently desired, and unanimously attempted, by the inhabitants of the Free States; and that the ultimate result would be alike beneficial to the pecuniary interests and morals of their country, while it occasioned the removal of that stigma which now attaches to them as the professed representatives of Liberty and Independence. “ Did earth,” says an American writer previously quoted, “ ever witness such a spectacle? A Nation declaring to the world that ‘all men are endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right of liberty,’ and then, by the Constitution of her national existence, offering the highest premium for Slave-breeding and Slave-trading! Professing to be an asylum to the oppressed of all lands, and then qualifying men for the exercise of political power according to the number of their Slaves,—thus making Slaveholding the foundation of its national Government! A nation boasting of its intelligence, its civilization, its religion,—of its schools, colleges, churches, Bibles, ministers, and democracy,—

APPENDIX.

<i>Leeds</i>	Mrs. R. L. Ford, 1, Park-Place Mrs. Jos. Lupton, Blenheim Square
<i>Limerick</i>	Mrs. W. S. Ward, Leathly Lodge, Hunslet Lane
<i>Liverpool</i>	Miss S. Fisher, Lifford
<i>London</i>	Mrs. Hannah Bevan, 20, Finsbury Circus Mrs. J. S. Reynolds, Lower Heath, Hampstead Miss Esther Sturge, New Kent-Road Mrs. George Thompson, Waterloo-Place
<i>Manchester</i>	Mrs. Cobden, Victoria Park Mrs. R. R. Moore, Athol Place, Higher Broughton The Misses Peacock, Park Place, Lower Broughton Mrs. Robberds, Accomb-Street
<i>Neath and Swansea</i> , Mrs. Rowland, Neath		
<i>Newcastle-on-Tyne</i>		Miss S. F. Morton, 11, Albion-Street
<i>Norwich</i>	Mrs. Weatherley Mrs. Barwell
<i>Nottingham</i>	Miss F. A. Martineau, Bracondale Mrs. Opie
<i>Plymouth</i>	Mrs. Win. Enfield Miss Woods
<i>Pontypool, Monmouthshire</i> , Mrs. Davies		Miss Jane Gibbons
<i>Sidmouth</i>	Mrs. T. C. Hine
<i>Taunton</i>	Mrs. Odgers
<i>Torquay</i>	Miss Leigh
<i>Warrington</i>	Mrs. Montgomery
<i>Waterford</i>	Miss Rylands
<i>Wexford</i>	Miss Maria Waring
<i>Wrexham</i>	Miss E. Poole
		The Misses Hilditch